LABOR PRODUCES ALL WEALTH
ORGANIZATION EDUCATION EMANCIPATION
ALL WEALTH MUST GO TO LABOR
Industrial Worker
AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL
2026 Autumn | Official Publication of the Industrial Workers of the World



Photos by FW James W. Top: FWs at IWW gravesites in Whatcom County, WA. Left: Cleaning grave marker of FW Carl Kindlund. Center: Grave of FW Billy Clarke. Right: Paying respects to FW George LaViolette.

REMEMBERING WOBBLIES PAST

November 16, 2026 X331980

A cook who moved from New York to Bellingham; a former student of Clarence Darrow who was at Haymarket in 1886; a Vietnam veteran who fought for peace; a civil rights lawyer who represented Leonard Peltier; a meatcutter who was arrested repeatedly for distributing union literature. What do these people have in common? They are all Wobblies—members of the Industrial Workers of the World—who were buried in Whatcom County.

This past weekend, a number of us, both from the Whatcom-Skagit branch as as far afield as Tacoma and Bainbridge Island, visited the gravesites of these and other Wobblies who have been laid to rest

here in Whatcom County. Fellow Worker Tuck, a longtime Wobbly and keen historian of the IWW, combed the archives of the Industrial Worker and the Bellingham Herald, looking for the names of Wobblies associated with Bellingham, cross-referencing against burial records, and obtaining maps from local cemeteries. Ultimately, we now know the burial locations of at least fifteen Wobblies past.



FW George Laviolettes grave and wreath. Photo by X331980

To commemorate these fellow workers, and in the IWW tradition of "In November, we remember," the Whatcom-Skagit branch organized a tour of these gravesites. On a chilly autumn morning, we gathered together at Civic Field, before loading up into carpools and setting off. Over a period of about five hours on a crisp autumn afternoon, we visited four cemeteries—Blaine Cemetery, Green Acres and Woodlawn in Ferndale, and Bayview in Bellingham, respectively—and visited the graves of those fellow workers who have taken rest from their fight. Amongst these are the graves of some who were tried and found innocent in the 1919 criminal syndicalism trial (including Hank Larson, about whom we have a more extensive article on the blog); a fellow worker called William Clarke who was speaking on industrial unionism in 1899 – six years before the advent of the IWW – when he was only 17 years old; and several Wobblies who tragically died in Bellingham with no known family, whose graves have likely not been visited since they died, right up until we visited them.



A wreath for FW Peter Smith. 1893-1923. Photo by James W.

At Bayview, we took a one-mile walk to visit the majority of the graves, including those of the aforementioned William Clarke and former IWW Local 337 secretaries Carl Kindlund and George Laviolette. At each grave throughout the tour, we laid wreaths; and, where necessary, we cleaned up the gravesites and headstones to honor these departed workers.

After we had visited our last grave, and with the sun setting, FW Tuck took a moment to speak. It is important, he said, to consider who we want to remember us, and how we want to be remembered. Some of these graves do not likely see many visitors; some are unmarked; some

have probably never seen visitors before we visited them. And yet, we remember them all as fellow workers struggling against capitalism and its oppression. Tuck told us all that he wants to be remembered as a Wobbly—it's central to who he is. And, while it is likely few will visit our graves a hundred years after we die, either, it would be good if those who did chance upon us knew that we also fought for our fellow workers.



All fourteen wreaths. Photo by X331980.

This piece was originally published on https://bellinghamiww.com/news-and-events/ on November 11, 2026 and shared here with permission.



FWs lay a wreath at FW Theo Bethkes unmarked grave

Photo by James W.



Wobs gather around unmarked grave of FW Basso.

Photo by FW James W.



Wreaths at FW Hildes and Weill grave. Photo by X331980.

IN NOVEMBER I REMEMBER

November 16, 2026 X331980

These dear Fellow Workers from the IWW in Bellingham, Washington.

REST IN POWER FELLOW WORKERS

Mary Charlotte Thurtle
1961-2012
X332400
Musician, film-maker,
trouble-maker.
Branch Secretary and IWW delegate

Doug Smith
1958-2015
X332390
Best friend, musician, printer,
tireless anti-capitalist activist.
IWW delegate

Jill Fugate
1946-1998
X333806
Teacher, artist,
union organizer,
mountaineer, mother,
poet, wife.

Bill Distler
1947-2017
X333604
Veteran, peace activist,
family man.
Miller in
IWW shop at Fairhaven
Co-op Flour Mill

Karen Weill
1957-2020
X381377
Fearless activist, legal worker,
feminist, environmentalist.
Wife of FW Larry Hildes.

Larry Hildes
1965-2021
X381607
Civil rights attorney, defender
of Wobs and political outcasts.
Husband of FW Karen Weill.

Dean Tuckerman
1952-2024
X381608
Charter Branch member, 2015.
Early Yippee; gay, disability and
workers rights activist.



BANDAID BRIGADE

October 22 2026 FW Krobar

I am a Shop Delegate for and member of the Bandaid Brigade Campaign, IU 610. We are an IWW shop union at an undisclosed private EMS agency in OH, connected to and supported by the Northeast OH GMB.

Background and contextual information: We work in Emergency Medical Services and are made up of EMTs, paramedics, and various drivers. Our shop union currently has a fluctuating membership of around 20 members out of about 40 total workers at our site. We have been organizing for about 9 months. We do hold and report on our monthly or bi-weekly organizing meetings to the Northeast OH GMB's Branch Organizing Committee and the ODB.

I am reporting a recent direct action that our shop organized and carried out: We identified a small but impactful issue at our shop: none of the ambulances at our site have signs inside of them to indicate their height to the driver. The heights change from ambulance to ambulance. This is important to know so we do not smash the tops of our ambulances while driving under bridges, awnings, or other overhangs. This issue had been explicitly, but individually, brought to the attention of our Operations Manager. No change was made. Lo and behold, a new EMT knocked off and broke the lights on an ambulance while going under a facility's overhang that was too short, just a few inches. This EMT and Fellow Worker indefinitely lost driving privileges.

And so, at an Organizing Meeting we proposed and approved to organize a march-on-the boss (MOB) to have this issue addressed. Within this organizing meeting, the Meeting Chair requested all willing and able members to identify themselves, schedule and carry out an Action Meeting for the MOB to determine all the specificities, and report back to the rest of the Shop Union.

At the following organizing meeting, the report given from the Action Meeting laid out the plan for the MOB: a specific date/time and location (the office was chosen because it was small and easy to pack), a reasonable timeline for the demand to be met (3 weeks), potential short-term and long-term retaliation from our managers, 4 different but specific talking points (testimony, a practical angle, financial angle, and a professional angle), the Fellow Workers who were going to lead each point, as well as who was to introduce the issue/demand and also give the signal for us all to exit uniformly and without hesitation. Further identified elements were the minimal number of participants needed day-of to still carry out the action, the watch person, who would enter the

office first and alone to check and make sure it was only our immediate manager there and give us the all-clear to enter the office. This person then watches the door for other managers, and then finally an Interrupter.

On the day of the action, the Fellow Workers participating in this action (the Action Crew) arrived at the base, some on shift, some off shift. Waiting outside, we were given the all-clear signal and managed to pack the small office with about 8 workers: half were speakers and half were only comfortable with helping take up space. The action went according to plan but did require some minor adjustments as it went. Our manager was more surprised than anything. Initially, our manager tried to argue, but the Interrupter only needed to intervene once or twice before he (the manager) realized there was something different about the office and decided to let us say our piece. At the end, he loosely agreed to our timeline, signal was given to exit, and we filed out of the office without another word.

The Action Crew walked outside and met by the ambulances and were cooling off from the action, as some were going to go back home and some were going to get on shift. After a few minutes, our manager came outside, silently walked past the crew with a tape measure and began taking measurements of all of our ambulances. Within a few days, all of the ambulances had height indicators inside and we haven't had a height related incident since. The following month, that new EMT had their driving privileges reinstated.

At the following organizing meeting we had a debrief. Here are some of the things we learned and are reflecting on:

1. **The MOB was much easier to carry out than we thought.** We were over prepared, but were able to adjust things as we went. It took approximately 1 minute.
2. **Different managers, different tactics.** We knew things would have gone differently with other managers, and so we chose the path of least resistance. We may not always be able to do that.
3. **Volume is underrated.** Just having Fellow Workers simply pack the room and claim space, while by itself cannot lead a MOB, substantially affected our manager's response in our favor.
4. **Debriefing is really important.** In this, we found that some Fellow Workers did not initially realize we had won this battle, because the demand was so quickly met. Additionally, there was actually some discouragement in the process because we had put in so much effort and preparation for a 60 second action for a simple demand.
5. **You can minimize risk, but you cannot get rid of it.** Another manager could have walked in during the action, someone could have forgotten their angle, someone could have gotten excited and mentioned it to the wrong worker and ruined the action from the start. There are many variables,and some that we cannot really prepare for. We all were inoculated prior and knew that organizing requires risk.

These are the major highlights of this action. Please feel free to reach out, if you would like more details or if you have

questions. **Also, please go and (at least try to) organize your workplace, if you have not already.** No more excuses!



In Solidarity, FW Krobar | X424069

"These men are all talk; **What is needed is action** — action! " – John Brown

BEWARE THE SHOWMAN

November 16, 2026
Hannah DeEtte

As a member of a left-leaning (to put it lightly) union, I've noticed that we are not really exempt from the same phenomena as other left spaces. Picture it. You're in a meeting about an issue. All of a sudden a loud activist type takes the floor and makes it all about them, derailing the meeting and going off topic about their pet issue. The chair tries to intervene, but to no avail. Now the activist is saying that the chair is problematic and counter revolutionary in some manner. The shocking thing is, the activist often isn't even a member of the group they are purporting to represent. It's emblematic of the savior dynamic we see from the liberal left quite frequently.

Loud activist types occasionally have the ability to attract widespread support for a project. That's not really new. But what can be hard to counter is when a loud individual co-opts a struggle and takes the lead in decisionmaking and speaking for that group. You've probably heard of it if you haven't experienced it yourself. Within unions we call it the one-man organizing show[1]. It happens a lot when there is a lack of structure. It's why decisionmaking by majority vote is important, and running tight meetings with a chair to keep order.

This has happened within a lot of modern movements, from small ones like Kony 2012 to Black Lives Matter. Shaun King was one of the loudest voices during the peak of the Black Lives Matter movement. He channeled his writing and energies into doing fundraising, even starting a Political Action Committee. What made the news cycle was the fact that his parents on his birth certificate are both white people, and he had possibly falsely claimed an identity he did not have. But what is more relevant to the story of Shaun King is that a lot of the money he was able to gather from donors ultimately did not reach its intended targets. He was a grifter and a conman[2]. He was a wealthy academic type who had very little in common with the people he was purporting to represent. He hurt a lot of people.

Black Lives Matter was founded by three black women, Patrice Cullors, Ayo Tometi, and Alicia Garza in 2013 after the brutal

1 https://organizing.work/2019/07/beware-the-one-man-organizing-show/
2 https://www.thedailybeast.com/goldie-taylorwhere-did-all-the-money-shaun-king-raised-for-black-lives-go

murder of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin. These were working-class women with the organizing skills to spark a mass movement against police brutality and for black empowerment.

Enter Shaun King, grifter extraordinaire, eloquent, and with the academic accolades to be a liberal darling. For years lefties would share thinkpieces and fundraisers by King unaware that he was utilizing BLM for profit. King was able to claim a place in this movement largely because of its decentralization, and also because he was so good at convincing people that he was there for the movement itself.

This is the type of personality we have to beware of in organizing spaces. The showman. They can speak the language well and convince people with their words. Sometimes they even will break bread with you and earnestly talk about their ideas. But there's something off with their actions. Typically digging a little deeper leads to their true motivations.

For King it was money. His net worth isn't public but is estimated to be at least $1 million. That's a lot for a purported activist who claims to speak for working class black Americans. King was able to make a career out of "the struggle" and monetize others' suffering. He purported to be giving Black Lives Matter a platform, but it became obvious that this was his grift.

I do not blame anyone involved with that movement of course. Shaun King is a despicable human being who took advantage of people's willingness to help and belief in his good intentions. I also think that over the years we learn what works and doesn't work, and the idea that someone would join a movement just to turn it into a grift was relatively new. Now we are more familiar with it and can identify it and hopefully prevent it.

So how can we identify these showman types without accidentally badjacketing people who just have shortsighted ideas?

It's time to ask some questions. Answering yes to one of them or even the first few does not mean they're bad news, but the sum total raises some questions.

- Firstly, are they a member of the group they are seeking to help?
- Is the project relevant to the aims of the organization?
- Are they asking for money?
- Have they already received money?
- Do they refuse to answer questions about where the money is going?
- Do they refuse to provide receipts upon request?
- Are they defensive when challenged on their ideas?
- Are they defensive when the organization tells them no?
- Do they respond to criticism with accusations?

If they've answered yes to all of the above, this is a major red flag for any organization or movement. If we can't disagree with ideas, if we can't say no to budgetary requests, if we can't dissent without being labeled conservative, reactionary, bigoted, or otherwise lacking in revolutionary spirit, something is very wrong here. This kind of behavior is antithetical to the type of radically democratic and caring union we are trying to build.

My suggestion, if the answer to many of these questions is a resounding "yes," would be to decline their proposal and end support for their project. Providing records and receipts is basic accountability. I could understand being defensive when being told no if someone is incredibly passionate. But if you add a lot of these questions together it results in a big personality who attracts financial support because people are too afraid to stand up to them, not because they think their ideas are good or helpful.

Luckily within the IWW, we already have a solid foundation. We are governed by our democratic rules and principles, our Constitution and Manual of Policies and Procedures. We have yearly officer elections and term limits. Our main goal is outlined in our Preamble. There is room for improvement. It remains obvious that elections are not competitive, and we get bad years with unfocused officers followed by clean-up years with determined officers who get us back on track.

But in those bad years those officers are still able to enter into contracts with staff, allocate the budget, and determine the direction of our organization. In order to remedy this, we should tighten things up. We need to make running for officerships something that any worker-organizer might be interested in. The majority of the rank-and-file should be able to serve on our Executive Board or run for treasurer for a year.

We also need to make sure membership has oversight of any contract entered into by our officers. Our Member Convention must be able to approve or reject any contract with union staff. Too many times in the past a bad slate of officers gave away massive perks and bonuses to their friends on staff, or hired their friends and overpaid them, or signed away our rights to oversee our union in a terrible contract. It has caused a lot of strife when a new slate of good officers has to come in and negotiate down a contract to what the union can actually afford and sustain. Giving Convention the ability to approve or reject contracts removes the ability of bad officers to abuse executive power.

Finally, we are a labor union. Anything that is secondary to organizing on the shopfloor really doesn't need to be a primary objective, especially when it siphons away dues money that should be intended for strengthening our organizing, having more organizer trainings, and reserving some in case of the need for a strike. There is not enough time or money from our engaged members for side projects that don't help with basic administration of the union. Just look at how few officers ran for General Administration positions in the past couple of years. We barely have interest in those. This is the basic bureaucratic function of the union with the boring paperwork to be filed and bills that need to be paid. If we get back to basics and focus on workplace organizing, grifters and even well-intentioned but shortsighted activists aren't going to be able to siphon away our dues money and our focus. Let's not lose sight of the main objective and fall prey to the showman.



March on the Boss. Art by x364181.

FORMER ODB CHAIR REFLECTIONS AND LESSONS LEARNED

November 16, 2026
Aaron Conway-Fuches

I was an elected member of the Organizing Department Board for four years, and was the chair for two and a half of those. I wanted to take some time now to write out some reflections from my time on the board that I think are useful to the broader union.

The ODB that preceded my officership started a number of projects. One was the "Branch Development Program" (BDP), where branches were invited to apply to receive funds and other support from the ODB. From the applicants, 3 branches were ultimately selected. Another was the salting and field team, where the ODB planned to spend $150k to partner with an outside organization to do salting (some sort of salting program had been mandated by annual referendum, but only $30k was allocated then). Finally, there was the EO Team, a team of External Organizers who would support workplace organizing leads that branches couldn't. By the time I took office, the salting plan had fallen apart when the other organization pulled out, the BDP had ended with maybe 1 of the 3 branches having benefitted, and the EO Team was going strong.

I think there are two lessons here:

1. You can't buy organizing. While funds were spent on the EO Team, it was significantly less than the money allocated to the BDP and to salting. These programs had lofty aspirations, big budgets, and little impact. The EO Team had a constrained budget, intended to cover specific things that people already understood.

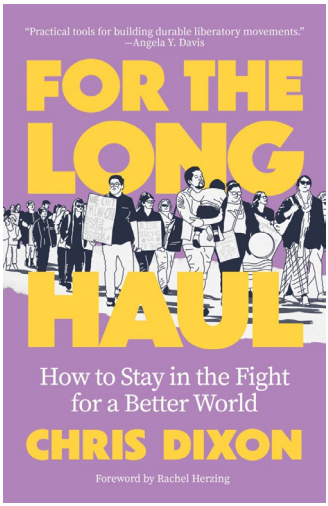
2. You can't predict winners. One of the branches picked for the BDP fell apart after unrelated infighting. The outside organization pulled out of the salting program after seeing internal criticism of partnering with a boss. The EO Team was set up to take on any lead that happened to come to us. If one didn't pan out, well, there were more.

Moving into my first term, we kept the EO Team going, but revamped the BDP (we tried stuff with the salting program too, but nothing important here) to be something all branches could connect to. We created an EO Shadowing Program, where branches could vote to have members join EO Team members on calls in order to gain organizing experience, which they could then take back to their branch. This drew interest from around a dozen branches. Results were mixed, but it clearly addressed a real need and, further, created something that branches could keep participating in, even if it needed improvements later on. This leads to what I think is the most important lesson: structure and logistics matter more than big ideas.

Running for re-election in 2023, I wrote that "the focus of the ODB should not be on big ideas and grand strategies, but rather on pursuing infrastructural improvements to the union". While some high level strategy is necessary, the IWW has a sufficient strategy for the moment: as workers, we organize to shift the balance of power in our own workplaces, allowing us to recruit more workers and gain more power; once we have shifted the balance of power in enough workplaces, we can exert power in entire industries, and, eventually, the entire economy, to run it democratically, by us, as workers. There is a temptation to try to refine this strategy, by identifying the most critical industries, strategic chokepoints, etc. This is a mistake. We should focus on the early steps of organizing more workers and shifting power in more workplaces, rather than trying to identify the exact best strategy to shift power in the economy at a later point.

This doesn't mean there's no room for improvement in how we organize, but we should look for improvements based on the problems we are actually facing. The main ways we have of helping new workers learn to organize are External Organizers and the Organizer Training Program. Are these sufficient? In places where these aren't developed enough, how do we build them up further, or get other union members involved? In places where our organizing has overrun the content of the OTP or the expertise of EOs, what can we do? Some questions that I have gotten as an ODB member include: how do we deal with the boss finding out about our organizing when our committee didn't plan for it? How do we coordinate organizing between multiple stores in the same chain? We should work as a union not just to answer these questions once, but to make them part of the collective knowledge of the union, that can be readily shared among our members. Coming back to Salting, the ODB has adopted a program, and finished a salt training. The training can be revised as we learn, and in this way, it can also become part of the collective knowledge of the union.

This is a much better function for the ODB, and other union bodies, than debates over ideas.



GEARING UP FOR THE LONG HAUL: A PRACTICAL REVIEW

November 16, 2026 Christian S.

AK Press published For The Long Haul by Chris Dixon in September 2026. I received my copy through AK's "Friend of the Press" program. I've been interested in the general health of our organization for a while, so the book intrigued me immediately. After reading it, I found much of value, so let us review the book structurally and then focus on the book's ideas that can help us improve.

Dixon's book measures out to only 140 pages of original content. Determined readers could knock it out in a day. The book follows an implicitly deductive structure. Deductive structures make a claim and then demonstrate that claim. The five-paragraph paper exemplifies this. It begins with a thesis that makes three claims, moves into three body paragraphs that prove those claims, one each, and ends by recapping it all. Readers typically find deductive structures more comprehensible than other forms. The book has an implicitly deductive structure, meaning it's there, but I had to do the legwork to pull it together. That's an issue. Explicitly stating the research question, and the answer to it (his thesis) would have helped orient readers. For a well-researched text like this, readers can easily lose the point through all the sources. Following a deductive structure would have prevented some of that.

What inhibits the longevity of liberatory movements and, by extension, how can we encourage ourselves and others to commit and stay committed for the long haul[3]? We can cultivate a long view, work with others, care, make plans, and stick around. Dixon organized his book into five chapters with each chapter dedicated to one of those answers. Each chapter breaks down into subsections addressing some aspect of its answer. The order is not strictly logical (as in, A, B, C, and so on). Cultivating a long view (for example) requires resistant remembering, learning from the past, an intergenerational chain of struggle, a global orientation, a struggle within the struggle, remaining open, embracing unpredictability, and staying grounded[4]. Sometimes we see the guiding logic clearly, and other times we can only vaguely sense the reason behind the order.

The book identifies many issues that plague movements and a few seem applicable to the IWW. We Wobblies suffer from three cooperating issues: a culture of paranoid reading, lack of care, and in-

3 Dixon, Chris. 2026. *For the Long Haul.* AK Press, 7-8.
4 Dixon, *For the Long Haul*, 13-35.

effectiveness. That doesn't mean we don't care at all or are totally ineffective, but rather we could do much better and doing better would encourage members to stick around (for the long haul). Cultures of paranoid reading tend "toward suspicion, rivalry, and dismissal"[5]. Failing to care about and for each other exacerbates that issue. "When we don't do this [care] work well or often enough, our movements suffer: people feel excluded and unrecognized, collective efforts are less resilient, participation shrinks, unproductive conflicts flare, people direct their pain at one another, groups flounder and fall apart, and inevitably some people burn out."[6] These two create problems by themselves, but they gain added strength and come to the fore when times get tough, whenever we fail to achieve our goals and/or meaningfully impact others' lives. As stressors pile up, these toxic tendencies encourage people to turn on each other exactly when they need each other the most[7]. Now, it is not my habit to move on without examples, but in this case, I leave it to the audience to fill in the blanks. I imagine each of us can do so without much difficulty. Thankfully, we can work together to address these issues.

We can combat a culture of paranoid reading and avoid the problems that arise without care by filling ourselves with care. Care, like love or solidarity, breaks into attitudes and acts. Let's call the attitude side caring about. Caring about others means thinking about and speaking with each other collaboratively, cooperatively, and charitably. We must choose to treat each other better because it's the most constructive course of action. As we treat people, so will they become. If we want to live in a caring world, we must start caring about each other now and doing so will make that caring world.

Care, like solidarity and love, is also an act. Let's call this caring for. "Solidarity lies in action," "[a]ction that sinks its roots in one's own project," action that carries on "coherently and proudly too, especially when it might be dangerous to even express one's ideas publicly."[8] This probably sounds a lot like the Christian approach to love. That's because solidarity descends (via the Paris Commune and French Revolution) from brotherly love. Brotherly love means to love someone else as yourself. If I love another as myself, it follows that I will treat them as I would want to be treated. We can get to the same place through Aristotle's definition of friendship/goodwill, which means to want what's best for someone else, for their sake and not our own, and to be willing to do that to the extent possible. Kant basically recreates these in his ethics. Brotherly love is not just feeling or believing, but direct action must follow from that love[9]. Caring for others can manifest in "welcoming newly involved people, checking in on those who have experienced trauma or death, transporting people to protests and meetings, cooking for those who are ill or for new parents,

5 Ibid, 51.
6 Ibid, 73.
7 Ibid, 90, 124.

8 Carmignani, Daniela. "Introduction" in Revolutionary Solidarity. Translated by Jean Weir. The Anarchist Library, 2009. https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/various-authors-revolutionary-solidarity
9 James 2:14-26. Holy Bible, New International Version.

hosting potlucks and dance parties, [and] building relationships with activists in other places and movements."[10] Working together is the heart of union, but care is the heart of working together. We even recognize that in the Organizer Training 101 curriculum. So, let's fill ourselves with care about and for one another and so be(come) fellow workers[11].

A culture of paranoid reading and carelessness come to the fore when organizations fail to achieve their goals. We can suppress those subversive tendencies by working together to achieve our goals, which means making plans and planning to win. Making plans has four steps, escape crisis mode, take an intentional moment, strategize, and (after acting) evaluate. This model helps us set and achieve our goals, making us more effective as organizers, unions, and a union overall. Becoming more effective helps crowd out the previous negative tendencies while we work to eliminate them via care. Ineffectiveness also discourages people from sticking around, so increasing our effectiveness encourages people to stick with the union for the long haul and builds our capacity[12]. Lastly, this model may help external organizers working with contacts from hot shops in particular because it emphasizes settling down, settling in, setting clear goals and measures and methods before acting.

At a macro-scale, Capital and the State have us locked in "the long emergency" while simultaneously eroding our individual and collective ability to resist through "the long grind down."[13] This means that many anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian resisters get stuck in crisis mode, "a form of political activity in which we urgently react to [the] emergencies" that together compose the long emergency and this leads to a cycle of "burn[ing] bright, burn[ing] out." [14] But, we can't really plan if we're always reacting to the latest crisis and we need to plan because failing to plan is planning to fail[15]. So, step one, get out of crisis mode[16].

To get out of crisis mode, we need perspective and we need time and space to calm down and recollect ourselves. We gain perspective from many sources, but especially by cultivating the long view. The long view can mean looking backward and forward; visualize a line from our locally situated pasts, through our presents, and to our possible futures. The long view can also mean looking around; visualize a horizontal line or panoramic from other peoples and their situated pasts, presents, and futures toward our own and vice versa. Once we put these "crises" in perspective historically and globally, we should take an intentional moment "to revisit our aims and consider options, including the possibility of not moving into urgent action.[17]" Slow is smooth and smooth is fast and people often regret their hasty decisions later. So, in times of genuine emergency, the best thing to do is slow down, get perspective, think, deliberate, make plans, and then act.

Cultivating the long view backwards and forwards means (re)discovering and/or (re)creating our histories. History is a story and, like all stories, it gives us a lens to understand our lives through. History helps us put apparent emergencies and

10 Dixon, *For the Long Haul*, 72.
11 Ibid, 80-81.
12 Ibid, 90.
13 Ibid, 39, 91-92.
14 Ibid, 91.
15 Ibid, 91-92 , 96-97.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid, 93.

crises in perspective. Doing so means realizing that the ecclesiast was mostly right. "Whatever is has already been" and "[w]hat has been will be again[18]." That can lead to dismissiveness and/or despair, but these both come from a haughty spirit that thinks it knows more than it does. Take heart because history reveals both permanence and change, and, really, permanence in change and vice versa. Thus, we can gain perspective from our situated histories and avoid despair and dismissiveness by "recognizing and appreciating the limits of what we know," which is intellectual humility, and by embracing life's impermanence[19].

Cultivating the long view also means looking around, thinking globally and acting locally[20]. Things become increasingly dire for the American working class and our near-kin in the petite bourgeois and lumpen, meaning the independent laborer, farmer, merchant, unemployed, and those in the counter economy. But, many places still have it worse, usually because American capitalists, using the State, actively made/make it worse for them. Many of the things Americans are currently panicking over, such as surveillance, police militarization, state sponsored violence against anyone who isn't part of the dominant ethnic, sexual, and religious group, and hyper-exploitation, have been happening abroad with US backing for decades and centuries now. Looking around shows us that we share woes and foes with the the working class (obviously) but also the petite-bourgeois and lumpen everywhere. That puts our crises in perspective.

A global perspective can detach us from the local, but we shouldn't let it. Many "[l]eftists are much more comfortable reaching out to other radicals, or engaging in activism—including helping poor, downtrodden workers elsewhere—than they are organizing their own workplaces[21]". Somewhere else can mean other jobsites, peoples, and/or places. Looking elsewhere prevents us from acting, from actualizing our potential here and now. As workers, we have power at the job site. Every step away from that battlefield, away from our workplaces, isolates us from our base of power and decreases both our offensive and defensive potential. That's our home turf and if we want to win this class war, we need the home field advantage. William Carlos Williams once wrote, "[f]rom the shapes of men's lives imparted by the places where they have experience, good writing springs... One has to learn what the meaning of the local is, for universal purposes. The local is the only thing that is universal[22]." He was writing about literature, but the same is true for unions. We must root ourselves in the local even as we look toward the universal.

After escaping crisis mode, we should define our aims, success, and measures, then strategize, act, and reevaluate. When

18 Ecc 3:15 and 1:9. Holy Bible, New International Version.
19 Dixon, *For the Long Haul,* 29.
20 Ibid, 14.
21 Lees, MK and Marianne Garneau. "The Leftwing Deadbeat." Organizing Work. May 22, 2020. https://organizing.work/2020/05/the-leftwing-deadbeat/
22 Williams, Carlos William. "Kenneth Burke" in Critical Responses to Kenneth Burke, 1924-1969, edited by William H Rueckert. University of Minnesota Press, 1969.

defining our goals and metrics, we should collaboratively critique and defend these ideas by asking why. As James C. Scott tells us in Two Cheers for Anarchism, (quantitative) metrics usually begin as a way of measuring something else, some quality, but soon become the goal themselves[23]. The number of branch or campaign members began as a way of measuring the branch's or campaign's strength and vigor, which are qualities, but it didn't take long for people to set "reach ten members" as a goal without asking why numbers matter and whether number fairly represents the quality they seek. Failing to define and criticize our aims and measures renders us literally aimless and encourages us to adopt familiar metrics or goals. Most likely, that means adopting goals and measures from Capital and the State and these are almost always a poor fit for any anti-capitalist and/or libertarian movement[24]. Failing to take this step means we'll struggle to accomplish anything (or even know if we accomplished anything) except by dumb luck. Step three, we must develop a strategy, "a plan—or set of plans—for moving us from where we are to where we'd like to be" based on our aims[25]. To develop a strategy, we must articulate a theory of change, "how we will make change in the world and why we think it will work" and a theory of victory, which is "a guess about how your actions will lead to a desired outcome" and "a map for winning something we want[26]." Step four, once we've done all this and acted, we need to evaluate and measure "what we've done against our aims[27]." Evaluating also means revisiting and adjusting our aims, definitions, measures, and tactics based on our new experience.

All in all, while I disagree with some of Dixon's points and suggestions, particularly the hit-and-runs on self-reliance and individualism, For the Long Haul offers many strong ideas and approaches to developing more resilient movements. There's enough to like here that I'd recommend it to any Wobbly interested in what they can do individually and what we can do collectively to strengthen our organizing, our branches, and our union as a whole.



Disclaimer: The opinions expressed in all articles are those of the authors. They do not purport to represent that of the IWW or Industrial Worker as a whole.

23 Scott, James C. 2012. Two Cheers for Anarchism, Princeton Press. 72-80.
24 Dixon, *For the Long Haul,* 104-105.
25 Ibid, 96.
26 Ibid, 98-101.
27 Ibid, 103.

Name: _____

In November We Remember

R A L P H C H A P L I N K C H N K J
Q L U C Y P A R S O N S A F B D B T
W O F R A N K L I T T L E A A F S J
Y T F V A W Y N V I J S E Y A Y G A
Z N H E L E N K E L L E R D P X J E
J O E H I L L X Z C X F U U M X Q U
R H S T A U G H T O N L Y N D A V I
I H U P P N I N M C R T P O A R N T
V O Z W I L L I A M H A Y W O O D N
T E V R E G U R L E Y F L Y N N J N
U W E S L E Y E V E R E S T F H D K
G B R B E N F L E T C H E R Q F L I

Find the following words in the puzzle.
Words are hidden → and ↓ and ↘

WESLEY EVEREST
E GURLEY FLYNN
WILLIAM HAYWOOD
FRANK LITTLE
HELEN KELLER
RALPH CHAPLIN
JOE HILL
ED MANN
STAUGHTON LYND
BEN FLETCHER
LUCY PARSONS



SUMMER CROSSWORD ANSWERS

ACROSS

2. One of our most famous IWW shops located in NYC, these singing servers have done a lot of direct actions

Answer: STARDUST

5. A fellow worker feline who is always there to help agitate his fellow workers

Answer: PACEY PRATT

6. This IWW campaign has two shops, one in Vancouver, and one in Lakewood, and has been on strike since May 20, 2026

Answer: REAL YOU

7. Current chair of the Organizing Department Board, 2026 to present

Answer: JONES [Chris]

8. Founding member and leader of the IWW, known for his role in Colorado Labor Wars, the Lawrence Textile Strike, and Paterson Silk Strike

Answer: BILL HAYWOOD

DOWN

1. In the IWW, we use these to unite all workers in a specific industry

Answer: INDUSTRIAL UNION

3. This band of fellow workers performed at the Toronto General Convention in 2024

Answer: UNION THUGS

4. The first federal red scare that had a devastating effect on the IWW and resulted in hundreds of arrests

Answer: PALMER RAIDS

LABOR PRODUCES ALL WEALTH
ORGANIZATION EDUCATION EMANCIPATION
ALL WEALTH MUST GO TO LABOR
Industrial Worker
AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL

WRITE FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKER

We are looking for submissions about organizing stories and lessons, debates on Wobbly topics, reporting on labor news from a Wobbly perspective, historical pieces on Wobbly history, obituaries for Fellow Workers, labor cartoons, and more!
If you have an idea that isn't listed, please contact me.
FW Hannah, IW Editor
BLOG@IWW.ORG

CONTACT

Contact the IWW today if you want to start organizing at your job.
IWW.ORG/ORGANIZE
If you are a member in good standing and wish to take the Organizer Training 101, please email the Organizer Training Committee at **OTC@IWW.ORG**
If you would like to request a group OT101 with your GMB, job branch, or coworkers, fill out this form: **TINYURL.COM/OTREQUEST**